

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 DLOS-04 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 ARAE-00 /071 W
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P 302030Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9154

INFO AMEMBASSY LIMA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LA PAZ 9088

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CI, BOL, PE, PFOR, PBOR

SUBJ: BOLIVIA'S OUTLET TO THE SEA

REF: STATE 303998, LA PAZ 9018, SANTIAGO 8682

1. IN THE COMMENT PORTION OF DEPARTMENT'S 301358 RECOUNTING THE CONVERSATION OF AMBASSADOR CAPRILES WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS AND AMBASSADOR RYAN ON DECEMBER 23 IT WAS STATED THAT THE CAPRILES MEETING SUGGESTED THE OPENING GUN IN A CAMPAIGN TO INVOLVE THE USE MORE INTRICATELY IN THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS. MY EVALUATION FROM HERE IS THAT THE BOLIVIANS DO NOT WISH TO INVOLVE US IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY HAVE LONG SOUGHT SOME FORM OF US SUPPORT FOR THEIR INITIATIVE TO OBTAIN AN OUTLET TO THE SEA, BUT WE HAVE WITH GOOD REASON RESISTED TAKING A VERY ACTIVE POSITION, WHICH THEY UNDERSTAND. WHAT I JUDGE THEY ARE NOW SEEKING IS A MILD EFFORT BY THE US WITH PERU TO ACCEPT THE AGREEMENT REACHED IN PRINCIPLE WITH CHILE AND TO AGREE TO SOME FORM OF FOLLOW-ON FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND A GUARANTY IN ASSOCIATION WITH OTHERS. THEIR REQUEST NEED NOT INVOLVE US IN NEGOTIATIONS NOR IN AN ACTIVIST ROLE. IF, AS THE DEPARTMENT INDICATES, AMBASSADORIAL VISITS TO CHIEFS OF STATE ARE PREMATURE, THEN I WOULD SUGGEST THAT CONVERSATIONS BE HELD IN EACH CAPITAL AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL. THIS WOULD FOLLOW UP THE ACTION OF AMBASSADOR

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POPPER IN CONGRATULATING CHILEAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS FOR

CHILE'S CONSTRUCTIVE MOVE. I RECOGNIZE THAT THE BURDEN AT THIS MOMENT FOR A DECISION RESTS WITH PERU. WHILE I HAVE NO ASSIGNED RESPONSIBILITY TO EVALUATE US-PERUVIAN RELATIONS, IT DOES APPEAR FROM HERE THAT WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO HAVE QUIET DIPLOMATIC CONVERSATIONS WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER IN LIMA UNDERLINING OUR GENERAL HOPE THAT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WILL CONTINUE TO LEAD TO ACHIEVEMENT OF BOLIVIA'S LONG-SOUGHT-FOR OUTLET TO THE SEA. WE MIGHT INDICATE THAT IN THE EVENT THAT AN AGREEMENT WERE WORKED OUT BY ALL PARTIES, WHICH IS OF COURSE WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THE THREE COUNTRIES AND DOES NOT INVOLVE THE US, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER PLAYING A ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE FINANCING OF INFRASTRUCTURE OR ARRANGING FOR ITS FINANCING. OUR APPROACH COULD BE IDENTICAL WITH REGARD TO A GUARANTY OF THE BORDERS FINALLY DETERMINED.

2. THE DIPLOMATIC LANGUAGE THAT I VISUALIZE BEING EMPLOYED BY US IN THE THREE CAPITALS NEED NOT COMMIT US TO FINANCING, NOR TO A GUARANTY, NOR TO INVOLVING US IN NEGOTIATIONS. WHAT IT MIGHT DO IS LEND GENERAL SUPPORT TO KEEPING UP THE MOTION TOWARD A RESOLUTION OF TWO PROBLEMS, CLOSELY INTERRELATED. THE FIRST, OF COURSE, IS BOLIVIA'S QUEST FOR AN OUTLET TO THE SEA. THE OTHER, AND MORE EXPLOSIVE, HAS BEEN THE LONG-STANDING STRAIN BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU OVER TERRITORIES LOST BY PERU IN THE WAR OF THE PACIFIC. I DO NOT ADVOCATE AN ACTIVIST POSITION BUT I DO NOT THINK THAT WE SHOULD MAINTAIN A PASSIVE ONE. THE DEVELOPMENTS ARE IMPORTANT AND THE SUCCESS OF THE INITIATIVES IS IN OUR INTEREST. FURTHERMORE, THE PROTOCOL TO THE 1929 TREATY BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU DOES CONTAIN A PROVISIO WHEREIN DIFFERENCES OF INTERPRETATION ABOUT THE TERRITORY INVOLVED MAY RESULT IN REFERRAL OF THE MATTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE US.

3. AT THIS POINT I BELIEVE A PRESS STATEMENT BY THE DEPARTMENT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE. RATHER, I THINK A QUIET CONVERSATION IN EACH CAPITAL MAY ACHIEVE A SIGNIFICANT MEASURE OF APPRECIATION FOR THE USG'S BEING RESPONSIVE TO AND INTERESTED IN THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS AREA AND WOULD NOT CONSTITUTE INTERFERENCE OR THE APPLICATION OF PRESSURE ON ANY PARTY. IT IS ALONG THE FOREGOING LINES THAT I HOPE THAT MY REQUEST FOR SOME DEGREE OF US RESPONSIVENESS WOULD BE CONSIDERED.

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